

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF INDIANA
INDIANAPOLIS DIVISION

K.C., *et al.*)
)
 Plaintiffs,)
)
 vs.) CAUSE NO. 1:23-cv-00595-JPH-KMB
) Indianapolis, Indiana
 THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF)
 THE MEDICAL LICENSING BOARD) June 14, 2023
 OF INDIANA, *et al.*,) 1:30 p.m.
)
 Defendants.)

Before the
HONORABLE JAMES PATRICK HANLON

PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

FOR THE PLAINTIFFS: Kenneth J. Falk
Gavin Minor Rose
Stevie J. Pactor
ACLU OF INDIANA
1031 East Washington Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46202
kfalk@aclu-in.org

Chase Strangio
Harper Samuel Seldin
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDATION
125 Broad Street
18th Floor
New York, New York 10004

1 FOR THE DEFENDANTS: Thomas M. Fisher
2 James A. Barta
3 Melinda Rebecca Holmes
4 Razi Lane
5 INDIANA ATTORNEY GENERAL
6 SOLICITOR GENERAL DIVISION
7 Indiana Government Center South
8 302 West Washington Street
9 5th Floor
10 Indianapolis, Indiana 46204
11 tom.fisher@atg.in.gov

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COURT REPORTER: jodie_franzen@insd.uscourts.gov

(*In open court*)

2 THE COURT: Good afternoon, everyone. We are on the
3 record in Case No. 1:23-cv-595, K.C., et.al. vs. The Individual
4 Members of the Medical Licensing Board of the State of Indiana
5 in Their Official Capacities, et. al. We are here for a
6 hearing on the plaintiffs' motion for a hearing on preliminary
7 injunction.

8 I would ask for lead counsel, beginning with the
9 plaintiffs, to please introduce themselves for the record, as
10 well as their co-counsel. And you are free to, but don't have
11 to, introduce any party representatives who happen to be in the
12 courtroom as well.

13 || Mr. Falk.

14 MR. FALK: Thank you, Your Honor. Ken Falk from the
15 ACLU of Indiana representing the plaintiffs. With me from the
16 ACLU of Indiana are my co-counsel Gavin Rose and Stevie Pactor.
17 And with me from the ACLU offices in New York are Chase
18 Strangio and Harper Seldin. Thank you.

19 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

20 MR. FISHER: Good afternoon, Your Honor. Tom Fisher,
21 solicitor general of Indiana on behalf of defendants. With me
22 at counsel table, James Barta, deputy solicitor general;
23 Melinda Holmes, deputy attorney general; Razi Lane, deputy
24 attorney general.

25 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. The parties had

1 originally requested that the hearing be limited to argument
2 with no evidence presented, and that was affirmed at the
3 June 5th, 2023 status conference. In preparation for the
4 hearing I have reviewed the parties' stipulated facts that were
5 filed at Docket 51; the briefing; as well as voluminous
6 exhibits filed by both sides in support of the briefing; and
7 there also was a recently filed defense motion to exclude the
8 opinions of plaintiffs' experts that was filed on June 12th,
9 2023.

10 The parties had requested 45 minutes per side for
11 their presentations, so that is how we will proceed. I have
12 built in some extra time to account for questions that I may
13 have.

14 So since the plaintiffs, of course, carry the burden,
15 they will go first. Mr. Falk, I assume you are going to
16 reserve some time for rebuttal?

17 MR. FALK: Yes, Your Honor. Hopefully I will be able
18 to reserve 15 minutes or so for rebuttal.

19 THE COURT: Okay.

20 MR. FALK: But before I start my presentation, I
21 would like to make a motion. We would like to move to strike
22 the motion to exclude that you just referred to, Docket 63,
23 that was filed after business hours on Monday. Under the local
24 rules, of course, we have 14 days to respond. We did not want
25 to generate any more paper in this case, and therefore I'm

1 making this oral motion for a number of reasons.

2 First, during our on-the-record conference that the
3 Court alluded to on June 5th, the parties agreed that all of
4 the evidence that was being submitted to this court would be
5 admitted, with the Court assigning it the weight that it deems
6 appropriate. The State is now contradicting that explicit
7 understanding by filing this motion, and it simply cannot go
8 back on its stipulation this way.

9 Second, Your Honor, we filed our preliminary
10 injunction memorandum, as you know, on April 21st, with the
11 declaration of our three experts attached. Defendants filed
12 their memorandum -- opposed it -- on June 2nd, 43 days later.
13 Defendants conducted the depositions of the three experts, our
14 three experts, ending on May 18th -- May 19th, excuse me. They
15 had ample time, two weeks, prior to June 2nd to file any
16 motions directed towards the experts that we have, and there is
17 no excuse for waiting until the eve of this hearing to file to
18 strike, especially given the fact that the law is scheduled to
19 go into effect in two weeks.

20 Third, Your Honor, the case law is clear, of course,
21 that a preliminary injunction motion, or any matter that is
22 being heard by the Court, as opposed to a jury, *Daubert* motions
23 are not favored. The judge is the gatekeeper and can assess
24 the evidence and determine what weight should be given. The
25 case law on this is voluminous. I actually have a case of

1 yours, the *Hitachi Astemo* case at 2022 Westlaw, 3369263 from
2 last year that says that, along with many citations.

3 That is precisely why we spend time in our reply
4 memorandum addressing the weakness of the defendants' experts.
5 The defendants could have done so in their response memorandum,
6 but instead they have filed a new 35-page memoranda in
7 opposition to our preliminary injunction request and have
8 labeled it a motion to exclude. In the memorandum they end up
9 saying that if the experts are not excluded, that they should
10 be given no weight. Well, that's an argument that should have
11 been made when they filed their response. Moreover, the State
12 is using this motion to introduce new evidence in the form of
13 exhibits, all of which existed prior to June 2nd.

14 Briefly put, Your Honor, they had their chance to
15 argue against the plaintiffs' experts that was in their
16 response that was due long after they deposed those experts,
17 and they should not be given another bite of the apple at this
18 point. We are happy to reply to the substance of the motion
19 because we do not think it is well taken. If the Court wishes
20 a substantive response, we would like a week to file that. But
21 at this point, given where we are, we think that the motion to
22 exclude should be struck.

23 Thank you.

24 THE COURT: Okay. All right. Thank you. So I'm
25 going to take that under advisement, and Mr. Fisher, of course,

1 will have an opportunity to respond when he speaks. I will say
2 that the parties had worked very hard with the Court in coming
3 up with what was an agreed-upon expedited schedule for briefing
4 and discovery and other matters so that we would be full ready
5 to give presentations at this hearing, which was scheduled a
6 long time ago, so the filing of the motion on June 12th did
7 come as a surprise to me as well. It also does address many
8 issues that could have been addressed in the response brief.
9 But that being said, there are many important issues. That is
10 an important issue, but there are many other important issues
11 that I know both the parties have put a lot of work into, so I
12 will hear what Mr. Fisher has to say when he gets up to give
13 his presentation, but I will plan to take the motion to strike
14 under advisement. I don't want us to get overly sidetracked
15 with that at this hearing this afternoon. Thank you.

16 MR. FALK: Thank you, Your Honor. And with having
17 said that, pursuant to the agreement that we reached in our
18 conference with the Court, my understanding is, is that both
19 parties have agreed that all of the evidence that has been
20 tendered to the Court to this point, with the exception of the
21 evidence attached to the motion to exclude our experts, is
22 before the Court, and I would move all of that evidence in,
23 with the Court to decide the weight to be given, again with the
24 exception of the motion, so at least tendered evidence attached
25 to the motion to exclude.

1 THE COURT: Subject to that limitation, I will go
2 ahead and admit that evidence at this time.

3 MR. FALK: Thank you, Your Honor.

4 THE COURT: Thank you.

5 MR. FALK: As far as my presentation is concerned --
6 thank you -- we are two weeks away from the effective date of
7 Senate Enrolled Act 480, a statute that not only will stop the
8 care that the minor plaintiffs and other transgender youth in
9 Indiana are receiving, and might otherwise receive in the
10 future, but will force them to experience irreversible
11 physiological changes that are inconsistent with their gender
12 identities. This going backwards, developing characteristics
13 of the wrong gender, will be disastrous. S.E.A. 480, Senate
14 Enrolled Act 480, is an odd law. It bans the care that the
15 minor plaintiffs are receiving and that hundreds of other
16 transgender Hoosier adolescents are receiving, despite the fact
17 that the care they are receiving is the standard of care
18 endorsed by every major medical and mental health organization
19 in the United States: the American Medical Association, the
20 American Psychiatric Association, the American Psychological
21 Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the Endocrine
22 Society, the Pediatric Endocrine Society, and the American
23 Academy of Family Physicians, among others. It bans this care
24 despite the fact that the gender-affirming medical care is
25 vitally necessary to stem the serious side effects of gender

1 dysphoria, a well-recognized mental disorder that causes
2 depression, anxiety, self-harming behavior, suicidal ideations,
3 and hospitalization, all symptoms manifested by the minor
4 plaintiffs in this case.

5 S.E.A. 480 bans this gender-affirming care, despite
6 the fact that every court that has faced similar statutes to
7 this one has preliminarily enjoined them, finding the
8 plaintiffs are likely to prevail in their claims, both
9 constitutionally and statutorily, and that the plaintiffs are
10 threatened with obvious irreparable harm.

11 S.E.A. 480 bans this gender-affirming care despite
12 the fact that the law is explicit that the exact same care that
13 will be denied to the plaintiffs, what we call generically
14 puberty blockers and gender-affirming hormones, remains
15 available to treat conditions that will afflict adolescents who
16 are not transgender. The treatment is just not available to
17 transgender youth for their gender-affirming care.

18 And most of all, S.E.A. 480 is an odd law because it
19 bans gender-affirming care despite the fact that it works. We
20 know that from the research, the extensive clinical experience
21 of our experts, and probably most importantly we know it
22 because it has clearly lessened the debilitating symptoms of
23 gender dysphoria for the plaintiffs, K.C., M.W., A.M., and
24 M.R., and many other transgender youth in Indiana.

25 THE COURT: Let me ask you one question there --

1 MR. FALK: Of course.

2 THE COURT: -- on your statement that we know it
3 works. Obviously the evidence that the Court should take into
4 account is very hotly contested in this case. The defendants
5 point out, of course, that the results of randomized controlled
6 trials would be the best evidence to have to most accurately
7 consider safety and efficacy of these treatments. Given the
8 lack of that research-based data, would you agree that the
9 safety and the efficacy is largely uncertain and unknown?

10 MR. FALK: No, Your Honor. Random controlled trials
11 cannot be done here. You cannot tell a parent we're going to
12 give treatment to Child A, but we're not going to give your
13 child treatment. And I think all of their experts, when asked
14 in depositions, conceded that this is not an area where random
15 controlled trials would be ethical. What we have, however, is
16 many, many studies and we have experts who have talked -- who
17 have treated thousands of adolescents and the studies all point
18 that this is in fact the best care available. The WPATH
19 standards and the Endocrine Society standards are based on
20 research and they're based on studies and they're clinically
21 backed, so I think what we're dealing with here are standards
22 that definitely have been proven and have been established
23 through clinical practice.

24 Conversely, the State offers nothing on the other
25 side. There is no other treatment for gender dysphoria other

1 than this -- the standards of care that all of these medical
2 organizations have endorsed. We're not in a situation where we
3 have to choose between two different types of care. The only
4 research-backed, science-backed care that is available are
5 these standards of care and that is exactly what is being
6 delivered through Riley to three of the plaintiffs and through
7 Mosaic to one of the plaintiffs and it's what's being delivered
8 throughout the United States to thousands and thousands of
9 adolescents.

10 Now, what the State argues is that this standard of
11 care treatment is dangerous and unsupported by adequate
12 science, but that's been repeatedly rejected in *Ladapo*, in
13 *Brandt*, and *Eknes-Tucker*, dealing with very similar statutes,
14 as well as in *Fain*, *Kadel*, and *Flack* dealing with state health
15 or Medicaid plans excluding gender-affirming care. And arguing
16 against this standard of care treatment seems to be a difficult
17 task, if not impossible, given that every major mental health
18 and medical organization supports the protocols. Moreover, as
19 I noted, we have submitted declarations from three experts in
20 the field, Drs. Turban, Karasic, and Shumer, who not only have
21 done extensive research in this area that supports
22 gender-affirming care and are aware of a vast majority of
23 studies supporting the care, but have the clinical experience
24 with thousands of patients to demonstrate that this actually
25 works.

1 And given the motion that was just filed, I would
2 like to focus for a second on our experts. Dr. Karasic, who
3 was credited as an expert in *Ladapo*, is a psychiatrist, he is a
4 professor emeritus at the University of California San
5 Francisco medical school, he has been working with gender
6 dysphoric patients for 30 years. For 17 years he was a
7 psychiatrist at the Dimensions Clinic for transgender youth in
8 San Francisco. He has seen thousands of patients. He is the
9 co-author of the WPATH standards of care, Edition 8. He has
10 developed a special certification in transgender health that
11 has helped train over 2,000 health providers to make this care.
12 He is the consultant for transgender care for both the
13 California Department of State Hospitals and the California
14 Department of Corrections Rehabilitation. He has also served
15 as an expert consultant for the United Nations Development
16 Programme on international issues concerning transgender care.

17 Dr. Shumer, who has also been credited as an expert
18 in *Ladapo*, is a pediatric endocrinologist. He has been
19 treating adolescents with gender dysphoria since 2015 when he
20 created the child and adolescent center -- gender clinic,
21 excuse me, at the Mott Children's Hospital, which is part of
22 Michigan Medicine at the University of Michigan where he still
23 serves as a clinical director. He is an assistant professor of
24 pediatrics at the university. He has published extensively on
25 gender dysphoria in peer review journals, and that is the focus

1 of his work. He has personally treated over 400 patients at
2 the clinic, and he has co-authored textbooks on medical
3 management of transgender persons.

4 Dr. Turban, our last expert, is a psychiatrist and
5 assistant professor of child and adolescent psychiatry, again,
6 at the University of California, San Francisco medical school.
7 He is the director of the gender psychiatry program there. He
8 also has conducted an enormous amount of research on mental
9 health of transgender youth and youth experiencing gender
10 dysphoria, and he is published extensively on the subject in
11 peer-reviewed journals.

12 Even without their obvious scholarship, these persons
13 are experts based on their clinical experience. This contrasts
14 greatly with the defendants' so-called experts who venture
15 opinions that are far outside the mainstream and based on
16 virtually no scholarship or expertise and as we have argued are
17 entitled to little weight.

18 We have two endocrinologists, Dr. Hruz and Weiss, who
19 have never treated a patient for gender dysphoria. Dr. Hruz
20 has never done any research in the area, and his opinions have
21 specifically not been credited in *Ladapo* and *Kadel*. With the
22 exception of a letter to the editor, Dr. Weiss's limited
23 writings -- I believe six -- on gender dysphoria have appeared
24 only in religiously-affiliated publications, and Dr. Weiss
25 holds the opinion, expressed in his deposition, that the

1 American Medical Association is a politically-motivated
2 organization, and that all of the groups endorsing
3 gender-affirming care, all of the medical and mental health
4 groups in the United States, have been taken over by group
5 think and social contagion.

6 The State proffers Dr. Kaliebe, a psychiatrist who
7 also has not done any research or published any articles
8 concerning gender dysphoria and has treated only about 13
9 minors with gender dysphoria in a career that stretches over
10 20 years.

11 We have an Australian psychologist proffered,
12 Dr. Kenny, who also has done no original research. He sees
13 only patients whose parents are convinced their children have
14 been misdiagnosed with gender dysphoria, which he doesn't
15 necessarily believe exists, but he believes to the extent that
16 people claim gender dysphoria, it's caused by social contagion
17 and he explains the fact that every major medical and mental
18 health group of the United States approves the standards of
19 care as the result of the transactivist lobby and the
20 transactivist medical industry pushing gender-affirming care.

21 THE COURT: I have a question for you at this point.

22 MR. FALK: Of course.

23 THE COURT: So even if these experts -- and of course
24 in the briefs there is a lot of mutual accusations going to the
25 qualifications of the experts, but it strikes me that the

1 experts on both sides are reasonably well credentialed, and
2 even if the defense experts, one or more of them, don't have
3 experience directly tied to treating the procedures that are
4 prohibited by S.E.A. 480, wouldn't you agree they at least have
5 experience that is relevant of a nature that would qualify them
6 as experts so that I would consider their opinions?

7 MR. FALK: Not when it comes to treating gender
8 dysphoria in adolescents, Your Honor. Dr. -- as I said,
9 Dr. Hruz was specifically not credited in *Ladapo* and *Kadel*
10 because he has no experience. Dr. Kaliebe has seen 13 persons
11 in 20 years. Dr. Kenny doesn't even believe that gender
12 dysphoria exists, and she is treating persons with a form of
13 therapy that she admits is actually band in three Australian
14 states because it is deemed to be conversion therapy. We have
15 Dr. Cantor who receives 80 percent of his income serving as an
16 expert, but he doesn't specialize in gender dysphoria. He
17 specializes in atypical sexual attractions, like pedophilia.
18 He has not performed any research on gender dysphoria. He has
19 treated only eight minors with gender dysphoria and has not
20 treated anyone under the age of 16. He -- in *Eknes-Tucker*,
21 after seeing these qualifications, the Court said he was
22 entitled to very little weight.

23 What the experts have done is they have cherry-picked
24 through articles and regurgitated what they think those
25 articles say. But as we noted in our brief, that simply is not

1 the role of an expert. Someone cannot go into an area where
2 they have no expertise and find literature and claim they have
3 the expertise because they repeat the findings or what they
4 believe to be the findings of literature. This is not the
5 function of an expert.

6 THE COURT: So I have a question for you here. I
7 think that the case you referred to was the case that was in
8 either Arkansas or Alabama, the case that --

9 MR. FALK: Yes, both are -- one in Arkansas and one
10 in Alabama, yes.

11 THE COURT: And wasn't that a bench trial?

12 MR. FALK: That was a preliminary injunction on a
13 bench trial, yes.

14 THE COURT: Okay. On a bench trial, though?

15 MR. FALK: Yes.

16 THE COURT: So here the parties didn't want an
17 evidentiary hearing, so I'm left with a paper record of, as I
18 said, experts on both sides that each arguably appear to be
19 reasonably well qualified, even if they don't have experience
20 directly in this area, which I don't think is a requirement for
21 the qualification, but my question would be, given the
22 allegations on both sides, without the opportunity to observe
23 the experts as they testify, to observe their demeanor and hear
24 them under cross examination, how should I go about weighing
25 their comparative qualifications --

1 MR. FALK: Sure.

2 THE COURT: -- without the benefit of that?

3 MR. FALK: Well, I guess I have two responses. One
4 is to the extent that we have experts who have had years and
5 years of actually treating adolescents with gender dysphoria,
6 who have the clinical experience, that is entitled to an
7 enormous amount of weight, as opposed to defendants' experts
8 who have virtually no experience. Some have no experience at
9 all. If you find, for instance, that we have Dr. Cantor who
10 has nothing to do with gender dysphoria in terms of training,
11 in terms of research, there is no reason to credit what he
12 says. There is no reason to credit what Dr. Kenny says who
13 doesn't even believe in gender dysphoria and thinks it's all a
14 big conspiracy. There is no reason to credit Dr. Hruz or
15 Dr. Weiss who have never treated a patient with gender
16 dysphoria and have no research experience. However -- I'm
17 sorry.

18 THE COURT: When you talk about their views about the
19 underlying subject, the defense, of course, has made similar
20 allegations that your experts shouldn't be taken into account
21 because they are infected with bias. That is the allegation
22 that the defense has made about your experts. So I'm not sure
23 that it's very helpful for me to hear both counsel mutually
24 saying how the other side's experts are not credible because of
25 a view that they supposedly hold, which hasn't been, again,

1 borne out and really tested in the crucible of cross
2 examination.

3 MR. FALK: And I guess my second response, Your
4 Honor, is that even if you credit all of the witnesses, you are
5 still left with a procedure or a standard of care which is
6 adopted by every major medical organization in the United
7 States and you are still dealing with parents who bring a child
8 to a doctor and the doctor says here is the standard of care by
9 all of these organizations and you are now telling the doctor
10 and the parent, and most importantly the child, you can't get
11 this care and there is nothing that allows a state to do that.
12 Even if there is a legitimate disagreement, which I don't think
13 there is, but even if there is a legitimate disagreement as to
14 this care, we have to recognize it is the standard of care, and
15 the State has no constitutional ability to intervene in that.
16 So I would say that regardless of the strength of the
17 experts -- and I think our experts are measurably stronger with
18 much more experience and have been credited by other courts
19 because of that experience and that knowledge, but even without
20 that, we're still having the State of Indiana saying we don't
21 care that every major medical organization and mental health
22 organization in the country says this is okay, you can't do it,
23 and I think that's where we are.

24 THE COURT: And when you say that the State has no
25 constitutional ability to intervene, in your view, is the

1 problem that the State is regulating the procedures at all, or
2 is it the extent of the regulation? So, for example, if the
3 State had codified WPATH's guidelines or the guidelines that
4 Riley follows, would that be constitutional?

5 MR. FALK: I think so, Your Honor. I mean I think we
6 are not concerned here with the precise nature of the
7 regulation because what we're dealing with here is a total
8 prohibition. A state certainly has the right to regulate
9 doctors and procedures, but I think we're kind of far afield
10 here. What we're dealing with here is the standard of care,
11 the gold standard in this particular type of treatment, and the
12 State saying you can't get it. And I think what the evidence
13 shows here is contrary to what the State is alleging.
14 Obviously gender dysphoria is a condition within the Diagnostic
15 and Statistical Manual. It's not caused by the internet, it's
16 not caused by social contagion, or the result of the
17 transactivist lobby. It's a diagnosis like any other mental
18 health condition.

19 Number two, the standards, the PATH standards and the
20 Endocrine Society standards, despite the State's unwillingness
21 to accept them, are evidence based, and they are based on
22 rigorous review of experts.

23 Number three, I think the evidence is clear that
24 parents and their children are not being pushed into getting
25 gender-affirming care without knowledge of risks and benefits.

1 The diagnosis for gender dysphoria requires six months of
2 incongruous and distress, and no one rushes into this. The
3 youth and the parents are being given detailed information as
4 to the benefits and risks of this procedure, and we have
5 included that in our materials with our response reply
6 memorandum, the ones from Mosaic and Riley and Eskenazi, and
7 these medications, puberty blockers and hormones, are only
8 provided after evaluation of mental health and take into
9 account co-morbidities.

10 The evidence also shows, Your Honor, that the puberty
11 blockers have been widely used for decades -- no one disagrees
12 with that -- to treat adolescents for precocious puberty, and
13 also for other things, and there is extensive data supporting
14 the safety of their use. They are prescribed, of course, in
15 this case to prevent the distress that accompanies body changes
16 with puberty for someone who is gender dysphoric. For
17 instance, as K.C. approached puberty and noticed her body odor,
18 her dysphoria increased. She took multiple baths and showers
19 daily. She stopped looking at herself in the mirror. She
20 obsessed that her voice was getting lower, and she demonstrated
21 general discomfort with her body. Gender dysphoria. After
22 less than a month on a puberty blocker, she has shown great
23 improvement because she does not have that fear of going into
24 the wrong puberty.

25 The evidence also shows, Your Honor -- and again,

1 this is not contested -- that the hormones that are
2 prescribed -- testosterone, estrogen -- are widely prescribed
3 to persons with conditions other than gender dysphoria, things
4 like delayed puberty, hypogonadism, Turner syndrome,
5 Klinefelter syndrome, disorders of sexual development. The
6 side effects are rare. One of them is it may affect fertility,
7 and you will see in the informed consent information that is
8 discussed and options are offered. The other thing the
9 evidence shows, that treatment works both for short-term and
10 long-term functioning and mental health, and regret and
11 desistance is extremely rare. We have cited numerous
12 peer-reviewed articles and studies that show exactly that. And
13 of course the efficacy of the treatment is confirmed by our
14 experts who have done this thousands of times. The evidence is
15 also clear that terminating this ongoing care and denying
16 future care will cause severe harm -- onset of the wrong
17 puberty, development of secondary sex characteristics for the
18 wrong gender -- and we have cited peer-reviewed studies that
19 demonstrate this directly contributes to poor mental health
20 outcomes.

21 And lastly, Your Honor, as I alluded to, most
22 importantly, there is no evidence-based alternatives for
23 treating gender dysphoria. The State suggests psychotherapy --
24 and as I noted, Dr. Kenny in Australia practices what appears
25 to be conversion therapy, which not only has been prohibited in

1 three Australian states, but it's been deemed unethical by the
2 American Medical Association, the American Psychiatric
3 Association, the American Psychological Association because it
4 does harm and increases the risk of psychological distress and
5 suicidality. And traditional therapy -- going to talk this
6 out -- doesn't cure gender dysphoria. A.M. was in therapy
7 through Eskenazi for almost three years before receiving her
8 puberty blocker. Therapy by itself does not work. It can be
9 obviously presented in conjunction with gender-affirming care
10 but not as a substitute.

11 The only other alternative, of course, is to do
12 nothing and wait until the minor turns 18. Well, this is akin
13 to having a child who has bipolar disorder or cancer and
14 saying, well, let's wait until you're 18. It's not a viable
15 alternative.

16 So what is the law here? As we said, I think this is
17 clearly unlawful, and courts have so found as violating equal
18 protection, due process, the Medicaid Act, the Affordable Care
19 Act, and the First Amendment. Let's talk about equal
20 protection.

21 THE COURT: And before we get there, I just had one
22 question.

23 MR. FALK: Sure.

24 THE COURT: You had mentioned, a minute ago,
25 desistance.

1 MR. FALK: Yeah.

2 THE COURT: And I believe that your experts
3 essentially say that that is virtually non-existent for
4 individuals who are diagnosed when they are adolescents --

5 MR. FALK: Exactly.

6 THE COURT: -- as opposed to being prepubescent.
7 There was a 2022 study in the Journal of Clinical Endocrinology
8 and Metabolism entitled the Continuation of Gender-Affirming
9 Hormones Among Transgender Adolescents and Adults that, among
10 other findings, found that among the patients who began taking
11 cross-sex hormones as minors, that there was a 74.4
12 continuation rate after four years, leaving obviously over
13 25 percent who would have stopped. So it appears as though
14 there is perhaps an inconsistency between your experts'
15 opinions and the findings of that journal, or a factual dispute
16 there.

17 MR. FALK: I don't think so, Your Honor. I think our
18 experts noted -- and I apologize, I don't remember which one, I
19 think more than one -- that it's not uncommon for persons when
20 they hit adulthood to be satisfied as where they are. They
21 don't go back. They're not regretting their journey. They
22 just don't feel the need to continue with hormonal care because
23 they feel they have come as far as they need to go. That is
24 not -- I guess it's technically desistance, but that is not
25 regret. That is deciding that it all worked. And I think that

1 is what I believe Dr. Karasic testified that his experience is
2 with his patients. Some of them are satisfied where they are.
3 Others want to continue receiving hormones.

4 THE COURT: So any number of the cases could be
5 desistance without regret?

6 MR. FALK: Exactly.

7 THE COURT: Thank you. Go ahead.

8 MR. FALK: In *Whitaker*, of course, the Seventh
9 Circuit established that discrimination against transgender
10 persons is sex discrimination for purposes of equal protection
11 because the discrimination there, not allowing a transgender
12 male to use -- a male student to use a high school male
13 restroom, was discrimination based on sex. The Supreme Court
14 in *Bostock*, of course, reached the same conclusion in the
15 context of Title VII. In both cases the Court concluded that
16 challenge actions could not be stated without reference to sex.
17 Now, the State argues that the discrimination here is not based
18 on transgender status but on age, procedure, or medical
19 condition, but this just isn't the case. Let's assume the law
20 goes into effect and it's July 2nd and a doctor is in her
21 office and she has on her calendar that she has an initial
22 appointment for a 16-year-old who requires an office procedure
23 to receive testosterone and that's all she knows. Well, she
24 won't be able to do it unless she knows the sex assigned at
25 birth of the patient. She can do it if the 16-year-old is a

1 cisgender male. She cannot do it if he is a transgender male.

2 What the law allows and doesn't allow cannot be
3 stated without reference to sex. And as the Eighth Circuit
4 indicated in *Brandt*, and also in *Ladapo* and *Eknes-Tucker*, this
5 is discrimination based on sex because the minor's sex at birth
6 determines whether or not the minor can receive the care. Now,
7 the State seeks support from the Supreme Court's 1974 *Geduldig*
8 case where the Court held that denying pregnancy benefits for
9 job loss due to normal pregnancy did not violate equal
10 production because in the estimation of the Court this was a
11 neutral condition that treated men and women equally, it did
12 not discriminate based on sex. Well, the *Geduldig* argument has
13 been raised and rejected repeatedly in other cases concerning
14 discrimination against transgender persons like we hear
15 today -- *Ladapo*, *Kadel* and *Boyden* -- because excluding this
16 care does not treat transgender and non-transgender persons the
17 same and directly targets transgender persons. It is not a
18 neutral condition. It's a facial classification based on sex,
19 as the -- as I argued, after all, cisgender persons can receive
20 puberty blockers and hormones. And to know whether you can
21 receive treatment, you have to know the person's sex at birth.
22 This is differential treatment based on sex, or at least sexual
23 stereotype.

1 demanding scrutiny requiring the State to demonstrate an
2 exceedingly persuasive justification. It must be substantially
3 related to an important government interest. And the State
4 argues that this serves the important government interest in
5 the well-being of minors. It's not enough to claim it. What
6 does the evidence show? And this is where I think parsing the
7 experts, although we think they certainly go our way, isn't
8 really necessary because in looking at the State's interests,
9 the medical interventions that the plaintiffs are receiving
10 represent the standard of care. It's backed by research and
11 clinical experience. It was initiated -- they were initiated
12 only after confirmation of their need and only after the
13 benefits and potential risks were explained. This is all
14 uncontested. They work. They work.

15 The State took depositions of all of the parents in
16 this case, and they have all talked about how their children
17 have benefited from this treatment. And there are no
18 alternatives, Your Honor. There is no alternative to the safe
19 and effective treatment that is being provided now.

20 Banning this medically-necessary care is not
21 substantially related to the articulated interests. It's
22 contrary to the interests. It's not minimally rational, let
23 alone meeting the elevated standard required. It also violates
24 due process.

25 *Ladapo, Eknes-Tucker, and Brandt* all found a

1 violation of both equal protection and due process, finding
2 that this statute, or a statute like this, likely violated the
3 fundamental rights that parents have in the care, custody, and
4 control of their children.

5 As the Supreme Court noted in *Troxell*, this is a
6 right that is perhaps the oldest of the fundamental rights
7 protected by due process. And as the court also stressed in
8 *Troxell*, if the parent is fit, there is normally no reason for
9 the State to interfere or question the choices that parents
10 make.

11 Obviously S.E.A. 480 is an attempt by the State to
12 radically interfere with fit parents, in consultation with
13 their doctors, making choices for their children that are the
14 standard of care.

15 THE COURT: In the two cases you just cited there,
16 you said that the Court had found both that the plaintiffs had
17 proven their case with respect to due process and equal
18 protection; is that right?

19 MR. FALK: That's correct.

20 THE COURT: But if I were, for example, to find that
21 the plaintiffs had established a reasonable likelihood of
22 prevailing on their equal protection claim, I wouldn't have to
23 go on and address due process, right?

24 MR. FALK: That's correct. And that's exactly what
25 the Eighth Circuit did in *Brandt*. The district court in *Brandt*

1 found that this was a violation of parental rights, equal
2 protection, and also the First Amendment. And without
3 mentioning those other claims, the Eighth Circuit said that
4 this was an equal protection problem.

5 THE COURT: And let me ask you one question on the
6 First Amendment claim, since you mentioned that there was just
7 kind of a natural follow-on. If I were to agree with your
8 position on the merits there, it would be too vague, I think,
9 for the injunction to just say it's enjoined as to speech. So
10 is there specific language that you have thought of or that you
11 would propose that the injunction would actually have that
12 would address that topic that would be specific examples of
13 speech that would be covered?

14 MR. FALK: Well, the problem, the First Amendment
15 problem is because we have this aiding and abetting provision,
16 and the aiding and abetting provision prohibits Mosaic and
17 Dr. Bast, for example, from, after July 1st, if the law was in
18 effect, to refer their patients out of the state or to answer
19 questions from out-of-state providers, so to the extent that
20 that is banning pure speech, which it clearly is, then we would
21 ask that the law be found to violate the First Amendment to the
22 extent that it would prohibit communications by, in this case,
23 the physicians or by the clinics. It obviously would not
24 prohibit, perhaps, actions being taken, but at this point all
25 we're talking about is pure speech, so I'm not sure -- we would

1 certainly be happy to propose language, but that is what we're
2 talking about, and that is what -- you know, this is, as we
3 noted for the First Amendment, this is the *Bigelow* case where
4 the State of Virginia said not only can you not do abortions
5 here, but you can't even advertise legal abortions in New York,
6 and the court struck that statute down. We think the statute
7 here is indistinguishable in that regard.

8 THE COURT: So I think we're probably at about a good
9 place where I would like to hear from Mr. Fisher soon, so if
10 you could wrap up where you were going in this front end of
11 your presentation, that would be great.

12 MR. FALK: I would be happy to do so. We think this
13 is a clear violation of parental rights. This is, as we noted,
14 a fundamental right that has been long recognized as a
15 violation -- or as an impairment on a fundamental right.
16 There must be a compelling governmental interest narrowly
17 tailored. Again, for the same reasons I alluded to, there is
18 no justification for this law.

19 And just very briefly, the Medicaid Act claim, which
20 has been recognized in other cases, is quite clear. Medicaid
21 requires not just that the State pay but that the State provide
22 services. This denies that. And because Medicaid is
23 implicated, which is federal funding, the Affordable Care Act
24 is implicated as well, and therefore denying Mosaic, Dr. Bast,
25 and other practitioners the ability to provide these services

1 when they are Medicaid recipients is discrimination on the
2 grounds of sex, as found in other courts, and it violates the
3 Affordable Care Act.

4 THE COURT: Okay.

5 MR. FALK: Thank you.

6 THE COURT: Thank you.

7 Okay, Mr. Fisher.

8 MR. FISHER: Thank you, Your Honor. May it please
9 the Court. So I'll start, of course, with the oral motion to
10 strike our motion to exclude. A couple of responses I think
11 are warranted there. First, with respect to our stipulation
12 about the receipt of evidence in this case, I had not
13 understood that to cover things like Rule 702 motions based on
14 reliability. I had understood it to cover the idea that we
15 don't need to bring the witnesses into court to have them
16 testify. And we had flagged in our motion to push off the
17 class certification briefing that we were considering a *Daubert*
18 motion, and that was one of the reasons that we needed
19 additional time. Now, once we filed our brief, we scrambled as
20 quickly as we could to get the motion to exclude on file given
21 the, you know, the complexities of the witness testimony, the
22 need to corral our own experts to get their reactions to it.
23 And, indeed, even the supplemental expert reports that the
24 plaintiffs filed that brought in new evidence, brought in new
25 testimony, all of this contributed to the timing, so I think --

1 you know, I think what we have done is reasonable, and I think
2 the plaintiffs are incorrect that at a preliminary injunction
3 hearing reliability doesn't matter. I think, you know,
4 notwithstanding the form in which it comes in, I think the
5 reliability of opinion testimony always matters, even in a
6 bench trial. So that's -- in summary, those are our responses
7 on the motion to exclude. You know, I think there is a lot
8 there to take in.

9 And candidly, I completely understand the Court's
10 concern about the back-and-the-forth over the experts, and I
11 really don't plan to spend time on our experts today. I want
12 to talk about the European systematic reviews, which really are
13 not in any way contested by the plaintiffs. They don't --
14 their experts, when given a chance at depositions, refused to
15 say that those reviews were unreasonable. In their reply
16 brief, knowing how much we were relying on those systematic
17 reviews, they didn't address them, and I think that that is
18 really, in many respects, kinda the safe area for the Court if
19 you don't want to have to get into the questions about
20 reliability of the experts, the questions about their biases,
21 the questions about their affiliations, and I think that
22 provides a lot. Those are, you know, government-commissioned
23 reviews that are specifically designed to factor out things
24 like bias and cherry-picking and the, you know, overlooking of
25 confounding variables. They are meant to assess the quality

1 and not just the quantity of evidence.

2 And so I think, you know, let's take a look at what a
3 couple of them say on this subject. In Britain, where
4 blockers, by the way, blockers and hormones had been available
5 to youths since 1989, they commissioned -- the UK National
6 Health Service commissioned a report by Hilary Cass, and she
7 said that using the -- what we have described and what others
8 agree as sort of the standard to be applied here, the GRADE
9 standard for quality, G-R-A-D-E is the acronym. Using GRADE,
10 that report concluded that those interventions, the evidence
11 supporting those interventions, was very low quality, which
12 means any estimate of effect is certain or that the true effect
13 of an intervention is probably markedly different from what the
14 study purports to find.

15 The NICE assessment by Dr. Cass also observed that
16 children taking puberty blockers lack normal bone density.
17 Dr. Cass reported that the review could not provide definitive
18 advice on puberty blockers and hormones due to gaps in the
19 evidence, and the evidence was not strong enough to recommend a
20 policy. Dr. Cass, interestingly enough, also highlighted that
21 the literature provided the least information for the largest
22 group of patients, namely females present -- first presenting
23 in the early teen years. And this is a theme that I think
24 comes up again and again in the European reviews and with the
25 literature that our -- certainly our experts have cited about

1 this growing number of a different age and sex cohort than what
2 had traditionally presented for gender dysphoria in the past.

3 Now, what has been the UK's response to the Cass
4 report? Well, they --

5 THE COURT: Well, wait, wait. I have a question on
6 the contagion since you brought it up.

7 MR. FISHER: Uh-huh, sure.

8 THE COURT: Isn't it equally possible or even
9 probable that the increase in social acceptance, and things
10 along those lines that are argued by the plaintiffs, is what is
11 responsible for the increased number of patients who are in
12 that category, as opposed to the theory of social contagion?

13 MR. FISHER: Yes, certainly. I think the critical
14 issue here is we don't know. And in that regard, let me just
15 point you very quickly to what the Norwegian systematic review
16 said, and this is reported -- and I don't take plaintiffs to
17 contest this, but Dr. Cantor reported this in his declaration,
18 and in the Norway report we have the Ukom medical director
19 Stine Marit Moen saying that we have seen a marked increase in
20 referrals to specialized health care services in Norway for
21 teenagers, as seen in many other western countries, and nobody
22 knows the reason. And that is really important, that we don't
23 know the reason. Is it something that is going to be a
24 permanent sense of gender dysphoria if it's not treated with
25 hormones and blockers? Is it something else? We don't know.

1 And in particular that's relevant because the studies that have
2 been done -- which by the way do not show any causation, any
3 causative benefit from hormones and blockers -- were done on
4 different cohorts, typically young men presenting for a long
5 period before they hit their teenage years, and that has been I
6 think one of the alarm bells for a lot of people who look at
7 this now. This is a very different phenomenon that is coming
8 across, and we just don't know the answer why.

9 Now, Britain's response to the Cass report has been
10 to say that -- and this is just as of last Friday, even after
11 we filed our brief, unfortunately. The UK National Health
12 Service announced two new protocols. It said that the primary
13 intervention for minors with gender dysphoria would now be
14 psychosocial and psychological support and intervention.
15 That's the alternative. That's not what the plaintiffs have
16 described as conversion therapy. Not everything that doesn't
17 support gender-affirming care is conversion therapy. That's
18 been the complaint lodged against our experts is that, well, if
19 you don't support blockers and hormones, if you support
20 psychosocial support, you must be a conspiracy therapist and a
21 conversion therapist. And that is not fair, and that is not
22 accurate. That is Britain's policy change. They have done a
23 180. Before, routinely hormones and blockers were recommended.
24 Now it is not to be routinely recommended.

25 I mentioned Norway also --

1 THE COURT: Wait, so as far as the psychotherapy
2 goes, of course your argument with respect to the plaintiffs is
3 that there is no reliable evidence that blockers and
4 cross-hormone therapy are efficacious.

5 MR. FISHER: Right.

6 THE COURT: Is there data supporting your view that
7 psychotherapy is efficacious and has a certain outcome?

8 MR. FISHER: I think -- first of all, let me just
9 take it in general, which is to say with respect to any number
10 of psychological disorders, depression, PTSD, many other, you
11 know, types of disorders, I think cognitive behavioral therapy,
12 other psychological therapies, are highly regarded, well
13 understood to be very effective. Now, in this context, do we
14 have a study? No. You know what, the studies that the
15 plaintiffs rely on typically were combining psychological
16 support with hormones and other -- and medical therapy, so they
17 were together. They have never been disentangled. The
18 difference is that psychosocial support, cognitive behavioral
19 therapy, does not pose the same risks, long-term risks, as
20 intervention with blockers, with hormones, and with surgeries,
21 you know, risks to bone density, risks of any number of
22 diseases, risks to fertility, those things are not at stake
23 with psychosocial intervention, so I think there is a very big
24 difference when we compare those two.

25 THE COURT: And on the topic of risks associated with

1 those treatments, I know that your experts, of course, cite the
2 possibility of risks, and it seems like there are risks
3 attendant to virtually any medical procedure you could have.

4 MR. FISHER: Uh-huh.

5 THE COURT: The plaintiffs, I think, argue that those
6 are mitigated by individual treatment, as well as informed
7 consent. But my question for you would be is there any
8 evidence that the defendants have that quantifies the risk, or
9 is just a very general there is a risk, so that means it could
10 be a .1 percent risk or anywhere between there and up, or is it
11 completely unknown?

12 MR. FISHER: Well, I'm sorry, I can't bring up an
13 index of those specific risks and what they are, but I think
14 that our experts pretty clearly do point out studies showing
15 quantifiable risks of various types, so I think they are
16 quantifiable. And there are various types of risks, including
17 fertility, which is very high, in fact is something that is
18 almost unavoidable when you go from blockers where your
19 reproductive organs don't develop, straight into hormones, and
20 the idea that you are then at some point going to come off of
21 hormones and be able to have reproductive capacity, it's hard
22 to see how that could happen. And certainly there is no
23 evidence about that, and that is a very important risk that,
24 you know, given the trajectory that we see where once you are
25 on blockers there is this sort of conveyor belt where you then

1 get onto hormones and eventually you go to surgery, that's a
2 very serious problem. But the other risks, yes, are quantified
3 and quantifiable. I don't even think at some level that they
4 are denied. I mean they are disclosed as part of the informed
5 consent process. And the question really then is, well, how do
6 we make an assessment as to how much risk is too much for a
7 minor to undertake? That is a classic government regulatory
8 question, and I think it's really interesting that Mr. Falk has
9 said, well, gosh, if we would merely codify the WPATH standards
10 or the way that IU Health and Riley do things, that would be
11 acceptable regulation. Well, why are those the entities that
12 get to determine what is acceptable regulation in our society?

13 THE COURT: Let me ask you one question on the prior
14 topic before you continue down this path, which I am eager to
15 hear more about. But when you cited the defense experts'
16 studies relating to harm that -- or the likelihood of harm
17 resulting from the use of blockers and/or hormones, are those
18 based on randomized controlled trials?

19 MR. FISHER: Offhand I don't know the answer to that,
20 but the expert reports themselves set forth -- and again, I
21 don't think that the risks and those quantified risks are
22 disputed. I think that everybody understands that they are
23 there. It's just a question of what you do with that, and I
24 think that from the plaintiffs' point of view we can make
25 decisions individually knowing that those risks exist, as long

1 as they are disclosed, and our position is, well, when you are
2 talking about minors and when you are talking about long-term
3 effects and the ability -- you know, the inability to know the
4 benefits of this intervention, those risks are very important,
5 and they justify government intervention.

6 So, again, why isn't it, you know, the State of
7 Indiana and our legislature that can look at these European
8 systematic reviews, they can come -- see those conclusions and
9 make a regulatory decision. And in fact, the plaintiffs
10 criticize us for citing those studies only because those
11 countries have not enacted an outright ban the way that we
12 have. Well, they have made very substantial policy changes.
13 And again, this is a matter of regulatory judgment. What do
14 you do with the information? The information is not, as far as
15 I can tell, disputed from the -- in terms of what has come out
16 of these systematic reviews. What the Indiana General Assembly
17 has decided to do is to say we don't want our children to be
18 part of this grand experiment. If they want to have
19 availability as part of research programs in the UK or in these
20 other European countries, they can do that. We don't have to
21 do that. That is certainly not something we think is
22 appropriate for children here.

23 So again, that all comes down to
24 politically-accountable legislative judgment, what do you do
25 with the information, and the WPATH and others who have come

1 forward with guidelines do not get to determine what is the
2 constitutional limit of the regulatory response.

3 Now, you know, I invite the Court to look at the
4 other reviews, including especially Sweden, which has a very
5 compelling report, and even there the Karolinska Institute,
6 which was one of the world leaders in interventions for minors
7 for gender dysphoria, has reversed its policies, and it no
8 longer provides puberty blockers or hormones to anyone under
9 the age of 16, so there we have a very respected institute
10 taking this information, seeing that there is an absence of
11 long-term studies and there is a presence of risk and there is
12 no evidence of causation and coming to a decision that, you
13 know what, we're going to put the cutoff at 16, and I think --
14 you know, we choose 18 in Indiana. That's, you know, hardly a
15 constitutionally-significant difference.

16 So I invite the Court, again, to look at those
17 studies. I'm happy to talk about them more, but I also want to
18 make sure that I address some other points that the plaintiffs
19 raise.

20 So the plaintiffs talk about WPATH and the Endocrine
21 Society and all of these other societies that have endorsed
22 what they describe as the standard of care and this is the
23 standard of care. There is nothing talismanic about the
24 standard of care. The State is permitted to regulate the
25 standard of care, so that doesn't really tell us much when we

1 arrive at some conclusion as to what the standard of care is.
2 But what is interesting is that WPATH's guidelines, the latest
3 guidelines, the SOC-8, do not purport to be based on a
4 systematic review the way that those European studies are.
5 SOC-8 thinks that you can't do a systematic review precisely
6 because the studies don't exist. Well, that's supposed to tell
7 you something when you go to do a systematic review. If you
8 can't find the studies, maybe you have got something to be
9 concerned about, maybe you need to start back a few steps
10 before you assume that, you know, there is something worth
11 trying out here, so -- and SOC-8 instead relies on literature
12 that it selects -- again, there is this cherry-picking problem
13 that systematic reviews are designed to address -- and
14 professional consensus, which is really the weakest type of
15 evidence that lies at the bottom of the evidence pyramid.
16 SOC-8 does not even disclose how the literature it cites scored
17 under GRADE or under any other scoring system for reviews or
18 where it is allowing consensus to override the evidence.

19 In fact, the lack of quality evidence supporting the
20 guidelines is apparent by the process that they used. As part
21 of the process, WPATH commissioned a review by Baker in 2021,
22 but that review asked only limited questions about the
23 effectiveness of puberty blockers and hormones. It did not
24 consider safety, which is a critical question. And despite
25 that limited scope, the Baker review was unable to identify a

1 sufficient number of studies focusing on adolescents to support
2 results for minors specifically. And when combining adolescent
3 studies and adult studies, the review reported that it was
4 impossible to draw conclusions about the effects of hormone
5 therapy on death by suicide. That is one of the very important
6 risks that the plaintiffs are relying on when saying that an
7 injunction is necessary, here is this prospect of suicidality.
8 Well, even WPATH was unable to come to a conclusion about the
9 effect of hormones and blockers on suicidality.

10 Well, what about the Endocrine Society, does it do
11 any more to support the idea that the WPATH guidelines or this
12 general standard of care is supported by evidence and can be
13 considered evidence-based care? And they do not. They were
14 drafted by a committee largely staffed by WPATH leaders and
15 authors, and they are not supported by a comprehensive
16 systematic review either. The society never claims to have
17 reviewed any evidence regarding whether medical interventions
18 are effective in reducing gender dysphoria or improving mental
19 health, nor does the society claim to have undertaken a
20 systematic review regarding the risks of medical interventions
21 for fertility, brain development, and reversibility, even
22 though it admitted that those were risks. Rather, the society
23 commissioned reviews on just two narrow questions, lipids and
24 cardiovascular outcomes and also bone health, but their failure
25 to look at the critical risks is a serious problem with the

1 guidelines. Why wouldn't a comprehensive assessment of the
2 science go into the known risks, those that even the Endocrine
3 Society itself recognized exist?

4 So there is other vary -- various problems. The
5 guidelines themselves, in fact, look at the evidence that is
6 out there on these matters, on the quality of evidence for
7 recommending hormones and blockers, and they rate it as low or
8 very low under the GRADE standards.

9 THE COURT: When you -- when you were talking about
10 the legislative judgment made, based on European studies and
11 essentially said that there is a very, very wide range of
12 options that the State could take in response to this
13 information, that sounds like we're talking about rational
14 basis review, as opposed to heightened scrutiny.

15 MR. FISHER: Uh-huh.

16 THE COURT: Is that correct? And if so, what about
17 heightened scrutiny, and specifically the language of the fit,
18 because that is something that I have spent a lot of time
19 thinking about, both what is the standard that would apply, how
20 *Whitaker* would not be a controlling case, which it seems to me
21 that it is, and if it is, how does the complete ban on the
22 procedures have a tight fit that would pass heightened
23 scrutiny?

24 MR. FISHER: Right, well, so, *Whitaker*, *Whitaker* is,
25 I think, first of all, nowhere near this type of regulation.

1 There we were talking about a school bathroom policy that drew
2 distinctions based entirely on sex. This is a distinction here
3 that is geared towards procedure.

4 And let's take Mr. Falk's example in that regard.
5 That doctor who has a 16-year-old coming in for some sort of
6 hormone therapy better know the sex of that child before
7 prescribing those hormones, I don't care about S.E.A. 480 or
8 anything else. Hormones are going to have different effects on
9 males versus females and you have got to know as a doctor what
10 you are treating and how much to give and how frequently to
11 give it. That's not sex discrimination. That is taking into
12 account immutable, physical, objectively verifiable
13 characteristics that are biological, that is all this law is
14 doing, the exact same thing, whereas in *Whitaker*, the bathroom
15 policy was based entirely on sex and not on inherent biological
16 differences.

17 So I think, you know, looking at the Supreme Court
18 precedence, whether it's *Glenn* or *Geduldig* or *Dobbs*, all of
19 these cases tell us where you have got inherent biological
20 differences, those are not to be taken as discriminatory based
21 on sex if you have a regulation that is relevant to those
22 characteristics. Indeed, that's not stereotyping, which is the
23 other problem with the *Whitaker* -- or the problem the *Whitaker*
24 court found with the bathroom policy. It determined that what
25 was going on there was an assessment of stereotypical attitudes

1 towards privacy, and it was discriminatory to make that kind of
2 assessment based only on sex. This is not a statute that turns
3 on stereotypes. Again, it turns on the procedures, the age,
4 and the conditions for which they are prescribed, which are
5 different from the conditions for which blockers and hormones
6 can be used for a central precocious puberty or for problems
7 with, you know, pubertal development, et cetera. Again, you
8 are treating different conditions with different types of
9 hormones for different periods of time with different results
10 and you are knowing in those circumstances something about
11 causation, which we don't know here.

12 So, again, we have, I think, a very different
13 scenario. We don't have immutable characteristics in those
14 other cases, and we have, I think from *Whitaker*, merely an
15 assessment of a bathroom policy that has really very little to
16 do with the type of risks and the type of biologically-based,
17 you know, medical interventions that are at issue here.

18 Now, I think with respect to that heightened
19 scrutiny, we do have the evidence to meet that. I don't think
20 the plaintiffs disclaim that the State has a compelling
21 interest in protecting children and safeguarding their health
22 and safety, and here the evidence amply supports advancing that
23 interest by prohibiting gender-transition procedures for
24 minors. We don't have evidence that those procedures work.
25 That's one of the problems. We do know that there are

1 significant risks. The risks are substantial, and they are
2 various. We detail them in our brief at pages 22 through 25,
3 so there is probably a little more precise numbers there, but
4 the point is that we have all of these reputable studies that I
5 think are not -- they are not really contested from -- at least
6 the ones from Europe and the risks themselves aren't contested
7 and the question is, that the plaintiffs raise, well, this is
8 not sufficiently narrowly tailored, and I think this goes to
9 Your Honor's question about fit. Well, what are we supposed to
10 do? We don't know -- and I don't think the plaintiffs dispute
11 this -- which children are accurately diagnosed with gender
12 dysphoria and which are not. There is no objectively
13 verifiable way to say who has really got it and who doesn't.
14 The plaintiffs' expert witnesses admit that. There is no
15 objective test you can do. It all depends on the child's inner
16 sense, in a way, and how it relates to the world around them.
17 That's not something that we can have a test for and a statute,
18 so we are left with nothing that is more finely tuned.

19 I think the plaintiffs' next objection is, well, you
20 could permit it for research, but I don't understand how that
21 that's a narrower, you know, rule that would somehow still
22 advance the purposes of the statute. The children that
23 participate in research trials are also at risk, the same way
24 that all other children are, so our interests are still at
25 stake, and we're not, as a state, required to permit the

1 children of Indiana to be subjected to this grand experiment,
2 particularly when we know from the European studies that they
3 are already happening elsewhere in the world. So I think that
4 the narrowness of fit matches the scope of the risks, it
5 matches the lack of proof that these are effective
6 interventions.

7 THE COURT: And when you say the lack of the proof
8 and the evidence and I think in your brief that you say that
9 there is -- something to the effect of that there is no
10 evidence whatsoever that the use of blockers and/or hormones
11 has any benefit to any person whatsoever, so essentially you
12 are saying that the evidence of plaintiffs' experts -- and I
13 know it goes to your motion, but, again, at least one of the
14 experts, I think it's Dr. Karasic, has been practicing in this
15 field many, many years, seen hundreds and hundreds of patients,
16 and is your argument that that evidence should be given limited
17 value or that it has zero value whatsoever? Same question as
18 to the evidence of the named plaintiffs in this case and the
19 affidavit of Dr. Bast having spoken to her patients and saying
20 that here is my observation, so is your argument that all of
21 those different types of evidence are entitled to zero weight
22 whatsoever?

23 MR. FISHER: Well, I will start with Dr. Bast and
24 Mosaic because I think the important part there is that, you
25 know, a clinical setting, a personal physician's observation

1 about a handful of patients, is not how we do science, it's not
2 how we do assessment of risk and cause and effect in medicine.
3 We don't say, well, it seemed to work okay for these patients
4 right now, so therefore it must work. Well, we don't know
5 anything about other patients and other circumstances, we don't
6 know long term how it's going to work out for these plaintiffs,
7 all we know is sort of a snapshot in time about an observation
8 of very limited use, really, from which generalizations cannot
9 be drawn. And I really don't think that even the plaintiffs
10 would say that that is enough to say, well, therefore this
11 should, you know, be deemed as successful for everybody. I
12 think they really try to turn to something more -- something
13 broader, and I think this is where Dr. Karasic and Dr. Turban
14 come in. To the extent that those experts are saying that
15 there is evidence that puberty blockers and hormones and
16 surgeries cause gender dysphoria to dissipate, cause gender
17 dysphoria to dissipate, they are entitled to no weight because
18 there is no evidence that that is true. The only studies that
19 exist, at most, show correlation, which is not causation, they
20 don't disentangle the medical intervention from the
21 psychological intervention and support, and they don't show
22 what happens, you know, for a long enough period of time. And
23 indeed, I don't think that those experts say otherwise. I
24 think what they are trying to do is to say, well, we have these
25 correlational studies and we have enough of them that, boy,

1 that sure seems to add up to causation, plus in our clinical
2 experience this all seems to work out okay. But that, again is
3 not how we do science. That is not demonstrative proof of
4 causation. That is only, you know, no better than the studies
5 that they rely on one by one by one. Dr. Turban admitted no
6 single study shows causation, and I think that that's the
7 critical feature of all of this.

8 THE COURT: Right, and I agree and I understand the
9 point that we don't have what you refer to as the gold
10 standard, but we have what we have, and we have to look at that
11 evidence, recognizing that we don't have the results of
12 randomized controlled trials on either side, so we're having to
13 do imperfect comparisons, I guess I would say. But having to
14 look at what evidence we do have in this record in this case,
15 even if it's not the best, I don't think I would say, well,
16 because it's not the best evidence that one could possibly
17 want, it's worth nothing.

18 MR. FISHER: Well, no, I think the statements are
19 worth nothing. When the statements are that intervention by
20 hormones and blockers cause gender dysphoria to be relieved,
21 there is no support for that statement. And the question is
22 can the State therefore prohibit their use in light of the
23 known risks, and the answer is yes. That's the difference.
24 Now, as to the ability to do a randomized controlled trial,
25 again, I think here the European studies come into play. I

1 think it was the Swedish study that -- you know, there can be a
2 way to do a valid randomized controlled trial that is ethical.
3 It has to do not with giving people placebos but with sorting
4 them as between people who take -- medical intervention and
5 psychological support, versus a group that only does
6 psychological support. So I think that there is a way to do
7 it, it hasn't been done, I'm not sure why, but that's where we
8 are. And given the risks, and given that these are minors and
9 that the risks are not short term but long term and that the
10 risks, even in a successful scenario, we're talking about a
11 lifetime of medicalization, potentially surgery that is going
12 to irreversibly damage, you know, one's reproductive organs or
13 other -- you know, perhaps breasts, I mean this is really
14 serious stuff, and I don't think it's like more minor medical
15 interventions that can rest on less rigorous scientific
16 scrutiny.

17 Again, where is that line going to be drawn between
18 what the legislature can regulate and what it can't regulate
19 based on the science of efficacy and the science of risks?
20 Classic legislative question. There is no constitutional or
21 statutory line to be drawn here.

22 THE COURT: If this were rational basis.

23 MR. FISHER: Well, I think, yes. But I think that
24 even if we are in heightened scrutiny, we have no proof of
25 benefit at all. There is no proof of causation, and that's, I

1 think, critical on that inquiry.

2 THE COURT: I believe it is undisputed in the record
3 that adolescent gender dysphoria is a serious medical condition
4 recognized by the DSM-5, right?

5 MR. FISHER: Right.

6 THE COURT: Okay. So we agree with that.

7 And a focus of that, as I understand it, is on the
8 distress that individuals diagnosed with that condition may
9 experience. So my point is that we're talking about the real,
10 live individuals who have been diagnosed with what is a real
11 condition validated in the DSM-5. And would you agree that if
12 left untreated, that an adolescent can experience serious harm
13 from having gender dysphoria that is untreated?

14 MR. FISHER: Perhaps. But of course no one is
15 talking about leaving this untreated. The question is not
16 hormones, blockers, or nothing. It's what is the, you know,
17 the ability to get other treatment, psychological support,
18 psychosocial support. Which, by the way, Dr. Karasic
19 acknowledges is valuable, at least in cases of suicidality.
20 Well, if it's valuable there, why isn't it valuable in other
21 places?

22 Let's take one of the concrete examples to illustrate
23 this point. One of the plaintiffs, M.R., there was a mental
24 health hospital visit. Mental health hospital treated M.R. who
25 suffers from anxiety, depression, and ADHD. The treatment that

1 was prescribed by the hospital was anti-depressants and
2 teaching M.R. coping skills. M.R. reported good results.
3 M.R.'s doctor suggested that providing continued mental health
4 support would be a treatment option, but M.R.'s mother already
5 decided, before seeing the physician, that M.R. would start
6 hormones as well. After starting hormones, M.R. stopped taking
7 anti-depressants. So the rush to hormone therapy there
8 interceded, got in the way of, the alternative, which is the
9 anti-depressants and the psychotherapy that was prescribed by
10 the hospital and that M.R.'s doctor had recommended to be
11 continued. So it's not a case of all or nothing. There is an
12 alternative, and that alternative is the psychological care
13 that accompanied the inventions with hormones and blockers in
14 all of the studies the plaintiffs cite, which cannot be
15 discounted as the causation that's behind whatever recovery
16 those plaintiffs found.

17 THE COURT: So let me shift gears just one second and
18 ask you about on the issue of ultimately granting injunctive
19 relief, assuming that I were to find that plaintiffs had
20 established some likelihood of succeeding on one or more of the
21 claims and had passed the initial phase of preliminary
22 injunctive relief, my question would be is it would seem like
23 you have a group of adolescents who are going to have to
24 abruptly stop a course of treatment that they have been
25 undergoing for some amount of time and there is evidence from

1 the parents, the minors, and the doctors, that that would cause
2 those specific individuals harm. And I also note somewhere in
3 the plaintiffs' materials they gave the data that I think Riley
4 Children's Hospital has been providing this type of treatment
5 since about 2018 to over 900 patients and that a good number of
6 them have received or are receiving blockers and/or hormones.
7 Long way of leading up to ask that wouldn't the harm that is
8 going to occur to those individuals who began undergoing this
9 treatment, without any idea that it would be abruptly stopped,
10 would outweigh any comparable harm?

11 MR. FISHER: So a couple of points I want to make in
12 response. The first is with respect to hormones, it's not that
13 immediate. It doesn't -- there is a taper period to the end of
14 the year. With the blockers, it does go into effect
15 immediately. With the hormones, it's until the end of the
16 year, so it's not as immediate and as abrupt, so I just want to
17 make sure that that is clear.

18 THE COURT: No, right, I understand that, but they
19 will have a finite amount of time where they will be faced
20 with, I suppose, if the law were to go into effect, where they
21 would have to say either they immediately cease doing treatment
22 that their parents and they and their doctor have all agreed
23 that was medically necessary under their individual
24 circumstances, or I suppose leave the state. So if my ultimate
25 goal is to get it right, wouldn't I want to leave the status

1 quo as it's been while this case is pending until we can
2 actually have a full trial on the merits, which will be a bench
3 trial, obviously, because they are only seeking injunctive
4 relief, and get that done soon?

5 MR. FISHER: Well, I think a couple of points.
6 Number one is the types of comparisons that I think the Court
7 is making between these particular plaintiffs and other
8 plaintiffs perhaps that are being seen at Riley or other
9 places, I think all of that has to be assessed in the context
10 of the motion for class certification. I don't think that that
11 is something that the Court can skip over and craft an
12 injunction that is so broad that it covers every conceivable
13 patient that maybe Riley or these other facilities have, and I
14 think the Court and the Seventh Circuit has been quite clear
15 about that, that you have to tailor the relief to the
16 particular plaintiffs.

17 Now, in a circumstance where there is a final
18 judgment and a broad declaration of invalidity, that is a very
19 different scenario, and it's not really that there is an
20 injunction as against the whole world absent class
21 certification, but it's just that the declaration of invalidity
22 does the work of sort of the universal application.

23 In the preliminary injunction scenario, we don't have
24 that. We have to focus on these plaintiffs. Now, if we go
25 through the class certification scenario and the Court is

1 satisfied that all of the requirements for class certification
2 have been met, that is, again, different. But the Seventh
3 Circuit tells us, with respect to this preliminary injunction
4 right now, the Court can only really address the harms that are
5 attendant to these plaintiffs.

6 Now, again, I think what I want to point to, of
7 course, is the lack of evidence that these interventions are
8 causing any relief from gender dysphoria. The Court, I think,
9 you know, and other courts have said, well, gosh, there is
10 evidence that these interventions work for things like blocking
11 puberty, for prompting secondary sex characteristics or
12 preventing other secondary sex characteristics. And of course
13 all of that is true, but that's not the question. The question
14 is what's the effect on the dysphoria. And there is no
15 evidence that these interventions cause a relief from
16 dysphoria, as opposed to other interventions, namely
17 psychological interventions, and all of what has accompanied, I
18 think, so many of the treatments of patients having gender
19 dysphoria for so many years. So I think that that is part of
20 what the Court has to think about and has to look at.

21 Now, I would submit we're presumably, if the Court
22 grants an injunction, which I hope it won't, but if it does,
23 then we're going to proceed to, I would assume, the class
24 certification motion, and at that point I think, you know, the
25 Court will be able to take into account the broader impact and

1 review whether, indeed, these plaintiffs are representative in
2 a way that is significant and meaningful enough to expand that
3 injunction.

4 THE COURT: Okay. So based on our timing here, I
5 think I'm going to momentarily go back to hearing from
6 Mr. Falk, so if you could wrap up your presentation.

7 MR. FISHER: And really I think at this point I'm
8 only interested in answering the Court's questions. I think
9 Mr. Falk briefly touched on Medicaid, and so I shouldn't let
10 that go unaddressed. This is not a Medicaid statute. This is
11 a statute that has to do with regulating the practice of
12 medicine. If Indiana targeted treatment of Medicaid patients,
13 that would be a different thing, but that's not what this
14 statute is doing, and that gets us outside of Medicaid. There
15 are no cases that I'm aware of, aside, perhaps, from the other
16 gender dysphoria cases that Mr. Falk is relying on, no other
17 cases that say, well, Medicaid prevents the State from
18 regulating broadly with respect to the practice of medicine,
19 and so I think that that is really a non-starter in terms of a
20 way to preempt Indiana from doing what it's doing here.

21 THE COURT: All right. Thank you.

22 Mr. Falk.

23 MR. FALK: Thank you. In one sense the argument the
24 State is making is shocking. They're saying there is no
25 evidence, even though we have submitted countless studies and

1 even though we have experts who have seen thousands of persons,
2 they are saying there is no proof that there is causation. And
3 what our experts have said is that what there is is proof that
4 this is efficacious, that this works, that without this
5 treatment, people get worse. I think we're asking a lot of
6 science here. Listening to clinical judgment as medicine is
7 exactly how we do medicine and the fact that something has
8 worked thousands of times means something and the fact that we
9 are dealing with a standard of care that has been endorsed by
10 everyone means something. It would be shocking to a doctor
11 practicing to find out that, hey, you know, forget about
12 listening to the AMA or the American Psychiatric Association,
13 the American Academy of Pediatrics, because the State of
14 Indiana is going to tell you what to do. There has to be a
15 significant reason for that, and there isn't there.

16 Mr. Fisher talks about what is going on in Europe.
17 What is going on in Europe is that you are having countries say
18 that perhaps it will be harder to get gender-affirming care
19 through the National Health Service, but in Sweden today you
20 can get gender-affirming care from a private doctor, in England
21 you can get gender-affirming care. No one, no one, no country
22 has banned this care. Indiana is going where Europe has not
23 gone/done. And for Indiana to say, well, we need more
24 research, well how do you do research, Your Honor, if you ban
25 it? Our experts are scientists. They are more than happy to

1 do studies, they are more than happy to do research, but you
2 can't do research if you can't do the gender-affirming care.

3 Now, Dr. Karasic has noted that most pediatric
4 treatment is given a very low GRADE in systematic reviews
5 because generally low quality means no random controlled
6 trials, so I don't want to play doctor, I don't want to play
7 social scientist, but I don't think we can draw conclusions by
8 talking about GRADE and low GRADE. I think we can draw
9 conclusions from clinical experience. And obviously, that's
10 what our experts have, and their credibility depends not on
11 their demeanor, which you can see, but on their obvious
12 experience they bring to bear, and our experts have brought a
13 lot of experience to bear.

14 But this is not a case about dueling experts. This
15 is a case about whether the State can show that this
16 discrimination, which is clearly based on sex, survives
17 heightened scrutiny, and it simply doesn't. The State
18 hypothesizes potential harms, but there is no proof of the
19 grave harms they talk about. Yes, there is a bone density
20 potential issue with puberty blockers and that's why you see in
21 the material that we presented from Riley and Mosaic and
22 Eskenazi that's dealt with and there are ways to deal with it
23 through monitoring, through providing a medication, through
24 making sure someone is not on puberty blockers for too long.
25 This is the exact same risks that you have if you are getting

1 puberty blockers for something else. Yes, there is a potential
2 risk concerning fertility with regard to hormones, although our
3 experts note that people who are on -- transgender persons who
4 are receiving hormones are informed to use birth control
5 because you can still get pregnant or can still be fertile, but
6 there are ways to dealing with that too. Every medicine has a
7 potential downside. And what medicine does, and what we trust
8 our doctors to do, is to sit down with us and say, look, here
9 is the problem, you have gender dysphoria. Yes, there is no
10 objective test for gender dysphoria. There is no objective
11 test for depression, for bipolar. The Diagnostic & Statistical
12 Manual of Mental Disorders is full of mental disorders that
13 there is no objective test for, but there certainly is an
14 objective listing about gender dysphoria so that practitioners
15 can diagnose you, not based on this is just what we think, but
16 based on meeting standards that have been vetted and have been
17 approved and are used every day.

18 So they sit down, and they say here it is, you have
19 gender dysphoria, here are your options, here are the
20 downsides, here are the plus sides. I think what our experts
21 have testified from their clinical experience, experience that
22 defendants' experts don't have, is that in weighing those
23 downsides against the upside of getting rid of or minimizing
24 dysphoria, again the upside of aligning yourself -- you know,
25 let's not miss -- let's not forget about how horrible gender

1 dysphoria is, how horrible it is to be trapped in the wrong
2 body, and how that permeates every minute of your life and
3 every minute of parents' lives, so you are able through this
4 discussion with your doctor to assess the plusses and minuses
5 and then most people say, yeah, let's try it because we need to
6 feel better, and we do feel better. People feel better. This
7 isn't a case where four people are getting treatment. This is
8 a case where thousands of people in the United States are
9 getting this treatment, and there is a long history of
10 providing this treatment.

11 We could always use more research, sure. And we are
12 willing -- our experts are willing to do it if they can provide
13 this sort of procedure.

14 Mr. Fisher mentioned M.R. M.R. was hospitalized for
15 suicidal thoughts and behavior -- I think he had been cutting,
16 suicide ideation -- after being repeatedly misgendered for
17 quite some time in his school and trying to cope with that.
18 His hospitalization was directly related to gender dysphoria.
19 In the hospital, he is diagnosed with gender dysphoria. And
20 coming out of the hospital, he seeks treatment for gender
21 dysphoria, continues his medication, I think Dr. Bast
22 prescribed him a different medication for depression, but
23 that's how it works. That's how it works. You have gender
24 dysphoria, and it's hard to reconcile yourself with your
25 day-to-day life. And with his hormones, he has improved.

1 There are enormous stakes here, Your Honor, for these
2 children and their families, and I think that a parent can tell
3 you those enormous stakes better than I can. When M.W.'s
4 mother was asked what her worries were, she was asked in her
5 deposition about this statute, she said, quote: That he will
6 be denied the care that has breathed life into him, and it
7 could all get taken away from him. That would send him back to
8 the darkest period and worse because he has had a taste of what
9 life could be like when he has that alignment within himself,
10 and to rob him of that would be devastating.

11 We think that this Court should maintain the status
12 quo and grant the injunction. We are happy to have a quick
13 trial to resolve this, but it would be truly, truly dangerous
14 and devastating to end this treatment for the many hundreds, if
15 not thousands, of persons in Indiana who are receiving it now.
16 Thank you.

17 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. So I do want to thank
18 both sides for very thorough and professional presentations,
19 both on paper and here today in court, that very thoroughly
20 address issues that, of course, as Mr. Falk and Mr. Fisher
21 indicated, are of great importance to both sides in this case.
22 I will take the motion under advisement. I'm aware, obviously,
23 of the time sensitivity with the effective date of the new
24 statute rapidly approaching, and we'll get a ruling out as soon
25 as possible.

1 Is there anything else, Mr. Falk, at this time?

2 MR. FALK: Your Honor, their motion to exclude is
3 sitting out there. We have 14 days to respond under the local
4 rules. We have moved to strike. Obviously we would prefer not
5 to respond to it because we don't think it should exist, but
6 what is the Court's pleasure in that regard?

10 MR. FALK: Great. Thank you.

11 THE COURT: Anything further?

12 MR. FALK: Nothing. Thank you very much, Your Honor.

13 THE COURT: Mr. Fisher, anything further?

14 MR. FISHER: Nothing, Your Honor. Thank you.

17 COURTROOM DEPUTY: All rise.

18 || (Adjourned at 2:59 p.m.)

19 *****

20 || CERTIFICATE OF COURT REPORTER

21 I, Jodie Franzen, hereby certify that the foregoing
22 is a true and correct transcript from reported proceedings in
23 the above-entitled matter.

24

25 || S/s Jodie Franzen